

AFRAID THEY CAN'T ELECT.

Henry George Says the McKinley Men Are Feeling Uneasy About the Chances of Electing Their Candidate.

BY HENRY GEORGE.

St. Louis, June 17.—The newspaper men who have been saying that everything had been determined in the Hanna straddle councils, and "McKinley, gold and prosperity" finally decided upon, were, it is now clear, somewhat too previous. The convention, which it was confidently expected would conclude its business to-day, has adjourned after two sessions without even the introduction of the platform, for though there is force enough to carry it, it is clearly evident in the Platform Committee itself that it will involve a struggle that will open to the world the difficulties, not of nomination, but of election, that have so unexpectedly loomed up before the candidate of "protection and prosperity."

In the pretty restaurant in the Wainwright building, where the arrangements suggest a railroad dining car, I sat at noontime near a professional man from Cleveland, with Tippecanoe badges on, who is here for Ohio's favorite son. He had just come from the morning session of the convention, and lamented the delay caused by the request of the Platform Committee for more time.

"What will the platform be?" his companion asked.

"I suppose it will be gold," said the Cleveland man, a shade of regret in his voice.

"Can McKinley be elected?" continued his interrogator.

"Yes," hesitatingly responded the Cleveland man. "Yes, I think so. It is not as good as a straddle plank. If we could only get a straddle plank our speakers could go out to whoop it up for McKinley and free silver in the West and for McKinley and gold in the East, and McKinley could be elected sure."

"If we must have gold, it would be as easy. We ought to have a straddle plank, but still I think McKinley can be elected anyhow."

This I take to be as true an expression of the real feeling of the Ohio supporters of McKinley on the very eve of decisive action as Hanna or Herlick or McKinley himself could give, if they could be free to speak frankly. They still yearn for that comfortable thing, a "straddle plank," and while unable to get that without a fight, shrink from the prospect of a fight for even the next most comfortable thing, a gold plank.

In the meanwhile "delays are dangerous." The danger to McKinley's nomination does not yet appear, but that to his election does.

Enough is now clear to make it certain that this will be a historic convention, marking the drawing of a new political line. A great party which began its formal existence by arousing all the bitterness of a sectional question seems likely to come to its formal end in the bitterness of what seems for the present like another sectional question. But the line of division is not now of latitude, but of longitude—not between North and South, but between East and West. On this sectional division the politicians seem now confidently to figure. For the present they are doubtless right. But is the Union really threatened by a new and necessarily sectional division in our politics which must continue to breed strife until one section overcomes the other?

The dangers are grave enough, but they do not seem to me to involve this supreme danger. The slavery question was really a sectional question, for when it came into political issue all the slaves were owned in the South and none at all in the North. But there is in reality no such clear sectional line for division on the money question. The East has not all the gold, nor the West all the silver, and whatever may be the best money, the people of one section are as much interested in getting it and using it as can be the people of the other.

But there is nothing in soil or climate or occupation or in the character and habits of the people of the two sections of one country to account for this. It may at first seem that it is due to a constant flow of capital from the other to the newer sections of the country for investment. But this is not large enough to account for the phenomena. Of real capital—that is to say, of real wealth (the products of labor) used in the production of more wealth—the flow from the East to the West cannot be much, and in the aggregate the flow is really from the West to the East.

The real explanation lies in our treatment of land as though it were a product of labor. The land of the West, the natural element to which the labor of the West must be applied to produce wealth, is very largely owned in the East or in Europe, and of the land of the East very little is owned in the West.

Thus the West is increasingly drained of the products of its labor to meet what, economically speaking, is not a return for the use of real capital, but a tribute due to land owners from those who use their land; and the West as a whole toward the East as a whole, and the country as a whole toward Europe as a whole, are tending to the relation of Irish tenants to English land owners. The rich men of the West constantly move toward the East, the rich men of the East constantly move toward Europe, for by an irresistible law like seeks like.

This is the true explanation of what the people of the West are first to complain of, but which in reality concerns the whole country. No mere change in the medium of exchange and measures of values can remedy the evil. Even an utter repudiation of debts could affect it only temporarily. The only real remedy lies in the taking of the unearned increment of wealth or economic rent for public uses, in the simple measure of justice called the single tax.

This is the reason why we single tax men would prefer, if we could, to defer any attempt to settle the money question until the real relations of land and labor are better understood. But a great struggle over what is called the money question seems to have begun. Ultimately it must reach the land question, for the land question is but another name for the labor question. And in the meanwhile I do not see how the feeling so strong in the West can fail to find some response in the East. In reality "free silver" is a blind expression of social discontent, and social discontent is by no means bounded by sectional lines.

A. S. HEWITT'S STRONG GOLD TALK.

If the Democrats Declare for Free Silver He Will Vote for the Republican Candidates.

Being a firm believer in the doctrine that gold is the only possible money standard for this country, I subscribe, of course, to the gold expression in the Republican platform. It is clear, direct, conclusive. I subscribe also to the expressions in Mr. Cleveland's letter, which are honest and to the point. If the delegates of the convention at Chicago adopt a straddle or any other subterfuge on this money question; if they accept a platform which is not as unmistakable as the Republican one, the sound money men will vote for the Republican candidates. I know I shall. There is no other question at the present moment than this, of a solid financial basis. It wipes out everything else. The tariff "isn't in it."

ABRAM S. HEWITT, Ex-Mayor of New York.

WURSTER SAYS, "NO THIRD TERM."

Brooklyn's Mayor, However, Admires Cleveland's Money Views.

I have always admired Mr. Cleveland for his sound money views. I do not believe, however, that his party or the country wants any man to serve three terms as President.

FREDERICK L. WURSTER.

Mayor, Brooklyn.



WILLIAM C. WHITNEY, HOPE OF THE DEMOCRACY.

WILL HAVE A GOOD EFFECT.

Mr. Cleveland's interview published in this morning's newspapers must have a salutary effect upon the public generally. The sound money element of the Democratic party has apparently of late been lying asleep upon its back and allowing the silver wave to pursue its course unchecked. I have no doubt the President's interview at this time was for the purpose of inspiring the sound money element of the Democratic party with courage and resolution, and inducing them to go to Chicago and make a fight in the interest of an honest dollar. That such a fight be made is extremely important. Should those who are in favor of free coinage of silver at the present ratio be allowed to control the convention without challenge or protest, they would go before the country and the world with a much greater prestige than they are entitled to. The public would be apt to believe that the entire Democratic party was committed to their plans, and in doubtful localities and with people who like to join the winning side, it might have great influence; whereas, if a strong, determined, well-generated minority go there and make a persistent, intelligent and earnest fight, even though against inevitable defeat, it would show the country that this silver element is not unchallenged, that it has a powerful, determined opposition with which to contend, and this of itself would have a reassuring effect upon the country as a whole, and upon the credit, both local and national, and would be largely efficacious in allaying the fears of investors in our securities, both at home and abroad.

A. B. HEPBURN,

President Third National Bank.

TIMELY AND SENSIBLE, TOO.

President Cleveland's statement upholding the gold standard was timely and a very sensible declaration, as are all his utterances on the money question. Coming as it did at the time it became evident that the Republicans at St. Louis would declare for the gold standard, it will have a most reassuring effect on business and will improve the financial condition of the country immediately.

It would be taking a too optimistic view to say that the President's manifesto will have the effect of persuading the Democrats to declare for sound money at Chicago, but still, I have hoped all along that such leaders as Cleveland and Carlisle would be able to stay the free silver tide in their party. At any rate, what Mr. Cleveland has said shows that the Democracy is not and will not be united for silver, and, as it is apparent that the Republican party is for gold, sound money men need have no fear.

G. G. WILLIAMS,

President of the Chemical National Bank.

ADMIRE HIS COURAGE.

I am a Republican, but I think it is due to Mr. Cleveland to express admiration of his courage in using such strong sound money language at a time when it appears that the silver sentiment prevails in his party. It takes courage to do that, and whatever mistakes the President has made, he undoubtedly has courage. He has made a good fight for the gold standard, and not the least part of it was in the statement he issued yesterday.

WARNER VAN NORDEN,

President of the National Bank of North America.

OPPORTUNE STATEMENT.

In regard to Cleveland's letter, it is what would naturally be expected from him. He has always been in favor of the gold standard, and his statement is very opportune, as it indicates that the best element in the Democratic party is still in favor of that standard, notwithstanding that a majority appear to be against him. The plank of the Republican party platform and Mr. Cleveland's statement ought to reassure and settle the minds of the misinformed persons in Europe who have questioned the intentions of our Government to maintain all of its money on a gold basis. I think the Republican plank is excellent and states the case completely. This country has been on a gold basis a long time, and, in my opinion, will continue so.

HENRY W. CANNON,

President of the Chase National Bank.

FINANCIAL MEN PLEASED.

President Cleveland's statement was strong, and will do much in wiping out the free silver fallacy. In connection with the financial plank at St. Louis, which meets every expectation of the bankers, it will bring about a feeling of confidence, both here and abroad. Everything now looks very bright, indeed, for the country's finances.

J. EDWARD SIMMONS,

President of the Fourth National Bank.

A GOOD EFFECT ABROAD.

The best thing about the financial plank at St. Louis and President Cleveland's statement is that the two coming together will restore confidence in our financial system in other countries. Cleveland has undoubtedly helped the cause of sound money, and he should be commended for his courage.

THOMAS P. FOWLER,

President of the Ontario & Western Railroad.

STIRS THE FIGHT IN HIM.

I think that President Cleveland's letter has had a good effect. He has finally blown the bugle call, warning his party of the danger that is ahead, and is urging the Democrats of the nation to rally for sound money.

Mr. Cleveland never had a chance of being nominated for a third term of the Presidency by the Chicago Convention, I am glad that he has at last awakened to a sense of duty to his party and spoken clearly.

The determination of William C. Whitney to let Europe take care of itself this year and remain at home I consider the most important piece of news in many days. It means that Mr. Whitney sees there is a

chance for the sound money men to control the National Convention and nominate a candidate. Mr. Whitney is the greatest organizer in the country, and the announcement has put heart into every Democrat in this part of the country.

McKinley has not been elected yet, and if the Chicago Convention proves true to the party I think he can be defeated. I do not think that Mr. Whitney's announcement can be taken to mean that he wants the Presidential nomination. I am convinced that he is not a candidate, for if he were he would have no difficulty in being nominated. Whitney is a good Democrat, and, seeing that his duty requires him to be in the thick of the fight, he abandons his pleasures and personal desires and remains at home to lead the battle for sound money and opposition to McKinleyism.

I had made up my mind this year not to attend the National Convention, but this Whitney news has caused me to change my mind, and I intend to go to Chicago to fight under the banner of Whitney, the greatest political general of the age.

HENRY D. PURROY,

New York County Clerk.

HAS A TONIC EFFECT.

I know of nothing that could happen with a greater tendency to encourage the Democratic party than Mr. Cleveland's letter. I have seen many men to-day and witnessed the tonic effect upon them of Mr. Cleveland's letter and of Mr. Whitney's decision to stay in this country and lend a hand to the sound money men.

I never had an idea that Mr. Cleveland, as far as his personal preferences were concerned, would be a candidate for another term of office as President. If he were a candidate I would support him. I say this without regard for my official situation. I think that there is no stronger man before the American public than Mr. Cleveland.

I do not see why the sound money men of the Democratic party cannot control the convention at Chicago, as the sound money men of the Republican party have controlled the convention at St. Louis. I would be for free silver if this were for the benefit of the people. I think it is as much a test of patriotism to be for gold as it is to stand by the flag.

CHARLES W. DAYTON,

Postmaster of New York.

FREE SILVER MEANS DOOM.

I have heard nothing but praise, without distinction of party, for President Cleveland on account of his manifesto to the Democratic party. It virtually urges them not to commit harl kari, which the adoption of free silver coinage in their platform would be. There is but one opinion expressed by those with whom I am brought in contact, and that is, if the Chicago Convention commits itself to the free coinage of silver heresy the Democratic party will be doomed, as they will simply dig a grave to bury themselves in. At any rate, they will put themselves in such an odious position in national politics as to compel them as a party to rice defeat through a great many Presidential elections in the future.

HENRY

WHITNEY, HOPE OF DEMOCRACY.

His Consent to Go to Chicago Hailed with Joy by His Party Leaders in All Sections.

As happy as were the sound money Democrats yesterday over the Journal's exclusive announcement that ex-Secretary of the Navy Whitney had given up his European trip in order to attend the Chicago Convention, was Mr. Whitney himself. Telegrams from sound money Democrats all over the country poured in all day upon the distinguished ex-Secretary of the Navy. These telegrams congratulated him upon his decision and expressed the gratitude of the senders because he had sacrificed his pleasure and convenience to answer a call of party duty. Even Southern Democrats who are unalterably in favor of free silver sent expressions of their admiration of Mr. Whitney's action.

Besides a number of prominent State and city Democrats called at the Whitney mansion to tell its owner about what a noble thing he had done for his party. Democrats from New Jersey also called. Chairman Clinton B. Davis, of the State Committee of Connecticut, and Charles French, of the National Committee from that State, came here expressly to thank Mr. Whitney. In consequence, Mr. Whitney was a very happy man, and if such a thing is possible he was more genial than in his wont.

However, as pleased as was Mr. Whitney of the fact that he has received how proud his party was of him, his chief joy was because he was the father of a grand young Democrat. What credit Mr. Whitney is receiving because of his determination, he says, belongs to his son, Harry Payne Whitney, who is soon to be married to the daughter of Cornelius Vanderbilt.

PERSUADED BY HIS SON.

"I had fully decided to have sailed to-day when I sat down to dinner last night," said the ex-Secretary. "We talked over the appeals that had been made to me to remain and attend the Chicago Convention. My son Harry began to urge me to forego my trip. 'If you go under these circumstances,' he said, 'you will not enjoy yourself. You will be miserable.' This set me to thinking, and when I retired for the night I was undecided, but rather inclined to remain at home. This morning I cancelled the accommodations I had on the Teutonic, and here I am."

"Will you go to Chicago as a delegate-at-large?"

"No, I will go as I did to the last convention—as a private citizen. I suppose I will leave for Chicago a few days before the convention, and will use my best influence to prevent the convention declaring for the free coinage of silver."

Here Mr. Whitney paused to open a telegram just received. It was from a New England Democrat, and said: "Congratulations. Now we are sure to win."

"Such opinions as that place me in a trying position," continued Mr. Whitney. "My friends may expect me to attain the success at the Chicago Convention that I was credited with having achieved at the last convention. Then the sentiment of the country was so strongly in favor of Mr. Cleveland's nomination that it was bound to come down. Now, as many Democrats have been elected who have been instructed to support a free coinage plank that the task of turning the tide is, to say the least, not encouraging. It may be accomplished, but if so it will be after great effort."

"How do you regard President Cleveland's statement?"

"I like it, and I sincerely believe that he did not put it out as a bid for another nomination. I feel sure that at no time has he desired a third term, and that he would not accept a re-nomination if it were tendered to him unanimously."

Mr. Whitney said his own candidacy was out of the question, and that he will go to Chicago simply to use his influence to have the convention declare for a sound currency.

GORMAN WILL NOT GO.

Senator Gorman, who has always firmly believed that Mr. Cleveland desired a third term, and who has all along predicted that the President would not state that he did not, remained in the city yesterday.

"No, I will not reconsider my determination and attend the Chicago convention," said the suave Senator. "I announced several months ago, when the Democratic National Committee met in Washington, that I would be absent from the convention, as I had already made other plans. Then it did not seem that the silver Democrats would control the Chicago convention."

"What do you think of the President's statement?"

"It comes too late. It would have been much better if he had made it months ago, and also settled the question of his position regarding a third term. Still, if the President believes that there is still time to prevent the silver men controlling the convention, the Administration should be thoroughly well represented at Chicago. It would not be proper, perhaps, for the President to be there in person, but the members of his Cabinet could attend. Secretary

Lamont is a most shrewd manipulator, and backed by the efforts of Hoke Smith and his other Cabinet colleagues, he might be able to accomplish big results. The Maryland delegation, which is composed of able men, can be depended upon to co-operate.

"I believe the delegation would loyally support Mr. Whitney for President if he could be prevailed upon to become a candidate. No matter what the result may be at Chicago, Mr. Whitney will be a most interesting figure. He has the personal respect of all Democrats, regardless of their feelings upon the silver question."

Clinton B. Davis, the chairman of the State Democratic Committee of Connecticut, who is in the city, said that now that Mr. Whitney was to lend the sound money forces he believed they would win.

"If we do," said Mr. Davis, "and Mr. Whitney should be nominated for President, we could carry Connecticut next November. However, I am afraid that under no circumstances would Mr. Whitney accept the nomination. He does not want to be President, but still he has just given an evidence that he will make a sacrifice for his party."

CAMPBELL IS HOPEFUL.

Ex-Governor Campbell, of Ohio, said last night:

"I cannot tell what measure of success may attend Mr. Whitney's work at Chicago, but I believe that he will find the silver men amenable to reason, open to argument and willing to make fair concessions. I have understood that such was their disposition. The silver men realize that if the Democratic party were disrupted at this time it would be the most severe blow silver ever got. They are conservative, and will, I am sure, concede as much as possible."

John C. Sheehan predicted last night, that Mr. William C. Whitney would be elected a delegate-at-large to the Democratic National Convention by acclamation and that if he was proposed as a candidate for the Presidency or if he would permit his name to be used he would be heartily supported by the Tammany delegates.

In discussing Mr. Cleveland's alleged desire for a third term, an interesting story bearing upon the subject was told by a Democrat of prominence. When the Democratic Committee met in Washington last January the members as a body did not call upon the President. It is the custom of the National Committees of both parties when they met in Washington to call on the President belonging to the party represented by the committee. At the time of the January committee meeting all the politicians were talking about the President's intentions regarding a third term. A statement was expected from him upon the subject. As the President did not desire to make a statement Chairman Harris, it is said, received a tip from the White House that the formality of an official call by the committee had better be dispensed with.

A MATTER OF WAIST.

Had the committee called and the President not mentioned a third term the country would take it that he had.

Ex-Governor Chauncey Pennsylvania, chairman of the Democratic League, with the members of its Executive Committee, being in Washington about this time, learned of the failure of the National Committee to call. He thought that here was a great opportunity for the members of his committee to receive a statement from Mr. Cleveland, declining to again be considered as a candidate. With this object in view ex-Governor Black and the members of his committee paid the President a visit. Mr. Black, who prepared a speech, talked eloquently of Jefferson and Jackson and hinted strongly about the probabilities of a third term. Finally Mr. Black sat down, and every one felt that the President would feel the necessity of declaring himself. Instead, Mr. Cleveland only said:

"Black, I really believe that you measure as much in the girth as I do."

The President then mentioned his great press of duties, and the members of the committee took the hint and departed.

When ex-Governor Black told of this incident to the Democratic leaders in Congress there was a general opinion that the President would never say that he would not accept a third term.

Albany, N. Y., June 17.—"I have nothing to say," said Senator Hill to-night, when he was told that William C. Whitney had decided not to go abroad, but would remain and go to the Chicago Convention as a delegate. A gleam of pleasure shot across the Senator's usually mobile face as he spoke.

There is anticipation in Albany that a conference of Senator Hill and his friends will be had here before the Saratoga convention, and that the programme of the Democratic leaders will be made at the meeting. The statement is given out here that General Charles Tracy, formerly Congressman and a staunch Cleveland man, will not be a delegate at large, but will be a delegate from Albany County.

FLOWER THINKS IT CAME LATE.

But "Better Late Than Never," and Now Is the Time to Make a Fight.

I think that Mr. Cleveland's statement will do good.

The thought, however, occurs that it is a little late—but "better late than never." It is a time when every Democrat from the North who desires the prosperity of his country should attend the convention and aid in convincing the Southern delegates how suicidal it would be for them to force their brethren of the North into a position that would inevitably result in disaster to our party and further humiliate the Southern people by re-reconstruction of their political status.

ROSSELL P. FLOWER,

Ex-Governor of New

GOUDERT SAYS THE TIME HAS

If the Democrats Do Not Now Declare Will Lose Many Votes

If the Democrats do not now declare

lose a great many votes. This is or ciple and expediency go together.

ans, have set us a good ex